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NOTES AND NEWS.

WE deal at some length elsewhere with the storm-signals which are once again making their appearance with reference to Tibet. It may be interesting to reproduce here what we said upon the matter so long ago as December, 1896 (India, vol. vii, p. 374):—

> What, we wonder, is the meaning of the numerous paragraphs and articles which are cropping up in all sorts of odd quarters about Tibet? One day it is Captain Welby's expedition—the next it is Tibetan trade. Are we to infer that Tibet is to be the scene of the "forward" frontier party's next operations? At any rate it may be well to keep an eye upon the straws which proverbially show the direction of the wind.

The war beyond the North-West frontier dispelled these straws for the time being. But it is rather significant that they should promptly reappear with what is called the "settlement" of the trouble on the North-West. The need for vigilance in the matter is certainly not removed.

It was officially announced on Tuesday that the Government of India have decided to join in the scheme of Imperial penny postage from the beginning of its operation on the 25th of December next.

The Queen has been pleased to approve the appointment of Mr. Henry Martin Winterbotham, of the Madras Civil Service, as Member of the Council of the Governor of Madras, in succession to Sir Henry Bliss, K.C.I.E., whose tenure of the office expires shortly.

The munificent gift of Mr. Tata to found a Teaching University and an Indian Institute of Scientific Research is warmly welcomed throughout the Indian Press. The first students of the Western learning, which was so foreign to all the traditions of India, were animated more by a desire for Government appointments than by any great belief in the worth of the new education; but that time is now passing away. The *Mahratta* thus speaks of Mr. Tata's foundation:—

> It will create and broaden the spirit of research among us. The example of the first pioneers in the new field will evoke a spirit of emulation in the minds of the men of the younger generation and will thus secure a continuity of original thinkers and scientific discoveries. What improvement our specialistic scientists may effect in the present methods of the cure of tropical diseases and of Eastern agriculture, and in the different processes of the arts and manufactures, time alone can enable us to gauge.

It is to be hoped, nevertheless, that the Indians will not content themselves with reproducing a pale copy of European specialist research, but that the spirit of synthesis, so agreeable to the traditions of their country, will not be wanting in any work they may undertake.

To judge, however, from the most interesting paper on "The Theological Situation in India" which Mr. Vadameo Shastri contributes to the *Fortnightly Review*, there is little fear that India will become too narrowly scientific. He represents the Hindu mind as still devoted to those metaphysical subtleties which exercised the Greek world, after its contact with the East, two thousand years ago. In fact Mr. Shastri draws a parallel between the Roman Empire with its pagan masses, its materialists, and its metaphysicians, all under the sway of a neutral state, and the British Empire in India, where the old religion in its popular and its speculative forms meets Western science. Only he does not see whence can come the end of conflict, for he considers that a dogmatic and moral system such as was Christianity (and a dogmatic system alone could bring peace) would never satisfy the Indian intellect, at once free in enquiry, and distrustful of the real and the useful. The effect of bringing together two such opposites as Western Science and Indian Metaphysics is to open out a problem of the greatest interest not to India only but to the whole human race.

The able writer on "Indian Affairs" in the *Times* recently drew attention, in an article which we noticed at the time, to a Resolution of Lord Elgin's Government on the administration of rural municipalities in India to the year 1896. Some of the Indian journals reproduce with gratification the following passage from the Resolution on the work of elected municipal commissioners, and on municipal self-government:

> He (Lord Elgin) has observed with much satisfaction the marked advance in self-government during the last ten years which this examination has disclosed, and the activity, intelligence, and general economy with which the municipal bodies have improved the conservancy services, the water supply, drainage, the street paving, the lighting and the many conveniences of the towns within their charge. These objects are all excellent, and some of them absolutely necessary to the health and comfort of the residents, and he is assured that in the furtherance of all such projects the committees will continue to show the energy and the assiduity which they have shown in the past, to the great advantage and benefit of their fellow-citizens.

The advocates of local self-government in India could hardly desire more useful testimony to the success of the system during the past fifteen years, since election was generally introduced by Lord Ripon in 1882. Election has made municipal administration more popular and more efficient. The experience shows once more that the way to rule India for the good of the people is to secure the co-operation of the people. It is the old system of despotic bureaucracy that has been responsible for most of the blunders in administration and much of the popular dissatisfaction witnessed within this generation in India.

Side by side with Lord Elgin's testimony in favour of self-government in rural municipalities, one may place the testimony borne by the present Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal to the success of the Municipal Commissioners of Calcutta in averting the plague from the city by zealous measures of precaution. In a Notification dated October 10, published in the *Calcutta Gazette*, it is recorded that the Lieutenant-Governor "has the great pleasure of announcing this day that Calcutta is now free from the infection of bubonic plague." He concludes the Notification with the remark that he "relies, as heretofore, on the good sense and hearty co-operation of all sections of the community to permit no relaxation of the vigilance which has thus far been attended with success, so that if unhappily the disease should again present itself at our doors, it may find us still prepared to meet it." Would it be out of place in this connexion to ask Englishmen in this country and in India if it is a suitable reward for the zealous vigilance with which the people of Calcutta have averted the plague, virtually to deprive them of those rights of self-government which have inspired their zeal and assured their co-operation? As the *Bengalee* writes:—

> The plague-scare enabled the citizens of Calcutta to show their public spirit and their power of organisation on a scale which has extorted the admiration of even their opponents. And for their self-sacrifice, their power of organised action and their readiness to help the Government, they are to be punished by the deprivation of their civic rights and the destruction of their much-cherished system of local self-government. Verily we are fallen upon evil times and upon evil tongues. The people were invited to co-operate with the Government; and they cordially co-operated with the authorities in one of the most critical times in the history of Calcutta, and for their pains they must be reduced to the position of hewers of wood and drawers of water. What an incentive to the exertion of public spirit for the public benefit.

The blow which is aimed at self-government in Calcutta

has already fallen upon Poona. The Municipal constitution there has been so changed as to secure on the Municipal Board a larger number of nominated Commissioners than under the old law. We notice in the last number of the *Mahratta* to hand that a public meeting was to have been held on October 16, "to protest against the increase, by Government, in the nominated members of the Poona Municipal Board." The protest, we fear, will be vain, as the law has already been altered. What is to be thought of the folly of the retrograde measures that are slowly converting willing, zealous, and loyal citizens into a discontented body whose growing dissatisfaction will impede successful administration, and may yet be a source of political danger to British rule?

The following official announcement has been issued with reference to the Plague Commission: "On the recommendation of the Government it has been decided to send to India a Commission, consisting mainly of scientific experts, to report upon the plague. Dr. Thomas R. Fraser, F.R.S., Professor of Materia Medica and Clinical Medicine at Edinburgh University, has accepted the duty of president, and with him will be associated two other scientific experts, Dr. Wright, Professor of Pathology at the Army Medical School, Netley, and Dr. Rüffer, who has been for some time head of the Egyptian Sanitary Department at Cairo. Two officers of the Indian Civil Service, Mr. J. P. Hewett, C.I.E., and Mr. A. Cumine, both of whom have had much to do with recent plague affairs in India, have also been appointed to the Commission by the Government of India. The scope of the Commissioners' enquiries will include (1) the origin of the different outbreaks of plague; (2) the manner in which the disease is communicated; (3) the effects of certain prophylactic and curative serums that have been tried or recommended for the disease. The members of the Commission will reach Bombay towards the end of the present month."

Dr. Sarat K. Mullick, in a letter to the *Lancet* (Nov. 5), draws the distinction between legitimate and illegitimate methods of eradicating the plague, and points out that it was not legitimate and necessary methods that "the entire population exerted itself to oppose." In a paper primarily addressed to English readers it is highly important this should be clearly explained; and Dr. Mullick did well to make the point clear. Disinfection, he remarks, is an everyday practice; isolation is an ancient custom; inoculation is immemorial.

> So that, in principle, there is nothing which is being done which can be called an innovation. What the people object to—and what self-respecting nation would not?—is the arbitrary and high-handed manner in which the orders of the Government are executed. I do not say that it was the intention of the Government that its officers should ride roughshod over the people; far from it. But it is a notorious fact that the feelings of the people were grievously trampled upon.

As Dr. Mullick points out, the establishment of the "conscientious objector" to vaccination in our midst may well suggest an exceedingly mild judgment on the Indian "conscientious objector" to very modern and very much less tried methods. The full justification, however, lies in the abandonment of the early methods by Government itself.

While Calcutta is for the present free from the plague, Madras is threatened with it. The Municipal Commissioners will not be found unprepared. The *Hindu* states that the Commissioners considered the question of raising a large sum of money to combat the enemy. As additional taxation was out of the question, they resolved to ask leave of the Government to borrow. It is here that the selfishness of the Government of India contrasts unfavourably with the zeal and public spirit of Indian municipalities. The plague is a national calamity, and the Imperial Government (not the afflicted towns) should bear the cost of averting it. If it be necessary to borrow on this account, the Government would be far more prudent in borrowing to save human lives than to wage foolish wars.

We take the following account of a lamentable incident from the *Tribune* of Lahore:—

> The subadar of the 5th Madras Pioneers, returning from Ootacamund to Trichinopoly, placed his wife in a third-class carriage with other women while he travelled second-class. At Pothanur, it seems, his wife was removed from the carriage because she was feverish, and was sent to the plague camp. The subadar knew nothing about this till he reached Trichinopoly, when the facts were told him. He immediately went back to Pothanur, where his wife was in the plague camp, and she told him the treatment she had received. The subadar immediately drew his sword and attacked two of the plague camp officials, killing one and wounding the other severely. The subadar has not been apprehended, and is still at large.

The subadar will no doubt be apprehended and punished. But is it possible that the plague authorities have not yet realised that to take away a woman unceremoniously into a plague camp without the knowledge of her husband is considered an outrage on the family, and is well calculated to turn law-abiding men into criminals?

On October 20 last Sir W. Wedderburn, M.P., chairman of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress, forwarded to the Indian Currency Committee a further communication from Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. The receipt of the document has been acknowledged, in a letter dated October 25, by the secretary to the Currency Committee.

We print on another page the petition of the Indian traders in the Transvaal to the National Congress. A difficulty of an exactly similar kind—a question of trade and not of settlement as in Natal—has arisen in Rhodesia. Messrs. Jeremiah Lyon and Co., an English firm employing Indian agents, have approached the British South Africa Company, the Colonial Office and the India Office in the matter. The Secretary of the first says that "natives of India are quite at liberty to apply for licences to trade in Rhodesia," but that "in granting hawkers' licences, supreme attention is directed to the character of the applicant"; while his statement that in other licences no distinction is drawn between natives of India and Europeans, is tantamount to an admission that in hawkers' licences a distinction is made. Mr. Chamberlain "is not prepared to interfere with the discretion vested in the local authorities." Lord George Hamilton contents himself with forwarding the correspondence to India. It appears that the freedom till lately granted has only been withdrawn since the extension of the Beira railway. Henceforth the Transvaal authorities can defend themselves by appealing to the treatment of Indians in Natal and Rhodesia. If the Indian hawkers follow the Beira railway into Portuguese territory they are free. Truly, it is a great advantage to be a British subject and live under the British flag.

The *Champion* administers a very proper castigation to the *Times of India*, which, as we pointed out last week, has been busy plucking imaginary motes out of other people's eyes in complacent forgetfulness of an actual beam in its own. "Forgetting the excellent lesson it was taught by Mr. Pugh in Mr. Tilak's case," the *Times of India* "proceeded to denounce Native papers all over the country as being habitual offenders in the matter of commenting upon cases *sub judice*." At once it was challenged by Indian contemporaries to point out specifically the offenders, but hitherto it has discreetly ignored the challenge. Leaving the Native papers, it has now attacked the Dekkani Brahmins, who happen not to be in the good graces of officialism. The case is bad enough to entitle the perpetrator to a decoration. Mr. Aston, the district judge at Satara, who immortalised himself in the Pratoda case, appointed a fresh Nazir in his court from the Revenue Department. The men on the establishment of the sub-judge's court at Tasgaon thereupon drew up a petition to the Bombay High Court, which Mr. Aston stopped in transmission. They complained of being defrauded of their just right of promotion. The *Times of India*, admitting that it had not seen the petition, made it the text of a bitter diatribe against the assumption of obnoxious Dekkani Brahmins, designating their petition "a protest for monopoly." The text and the signatures show that it is no such thing, but on the contrary a perfectly legitimate expression of claim by Brahmins and non-Brahmins alike. The Native papers present for the most part a handsome contrast to such journalism, which the *Champion* does good service in branding as it deserves.

The *Bombay Gazette*, we are glad to see, writes with admirable good sense upon Lord Elgin's references in his farewell speech to the trans-frontier war:—

> It is very important (says the writer) that this plausible but incomplete and most misleading presentment of the facts should not pass

current as an explanation and a defence of the frontier policy, which last year set the whole frontier in a blaze and necessitated the mobilisation of 70,000 of our best troops. The statement that the wars of last year were not sought by the Government of India may pass, though it is open to criticism. But it is not the fact that those wars were "unprovoked by us." The provocation was reckless, continuous, and, it might also be said, deliberate. The disturbance of the *status quo ante* by the Durand Treaty, imposed on tribes proud of an independence which even Alexander the Great did not overthrow, was in itself a provocation and a challenge. What would have been said if the case had been reversed, and the tribes, in a treaty privately arranged with Afghanistan, had transferred to themselves as a sphere of influence, say, the whole of the Peshawar Valley? The provocation would have been undoubted, and the challenge accepted without an instant's delay. The tribes did not move even when an expedition was sent to Chitral, relying on the promise that no tribal territory would be annexed. That promise was set aside, and, to the great alarm of the tribes, a permanent road, with military, with forts at intervals, carried for two hundred miles through tribal territory to Chitral. The tribes were further perplexed by the proceedings of the military survey parties sent in to their mountains to extend our frontier up to the Afghan boundary. Was there no provocation in all that? It became clear to them that their independence was in imminent danger. Sir George White's speech, laying down as a principle of action that whenever civilisation and barbarism met the latter should be brought into subjection to the former, showed that the tribesmen were not altogether wrong in coming to the conclusion that their traditional independence was aimed at. The result was such an upheaval as was never known before. The Afridis, who had been our sworn soldiers for a generation, and had nothing to gain but a great deal to lose by declaring war on their masters, closed the Khyber against our pay and cast in their lot with the rest. Had they all risen at once the position would have been decidedly embarrassing, but fortunately each group of tribes only took the field when their neighbours were defeated. It is difficult to understand how Lord Elgin can have come to regard the war as unprovoked, and wantonly forced upon us. Our interests could have been best served by keeping the tribes friendly, and not alarming them for the security of their mountain homes.

The *Bombay Gazette* thinks that it is "unnecessary to discuss the degree of success obtained at such heavy cost in fighting tribes like the Afridis that had always been friendly until they had reason to doubt our friendship."

The Afridi curtain was lifted; but we hear nothing more of proposals to annex the Afridi terrain and convert it into a sanatorium for Peshawar and Rawal Pindi. The Afridis have learned that we can march thirty thousand men across their territory it is true, and down again at the other side; but they have also learned that the promenade is not likely to be renewed without very great provocation indeed. On our side we have learned that the Afridis are armed with the newest weapons of precision, mostly obtained from our own frontier posts; and that they can add to their armament during the progress of our troops through their territory. If these were the objects with which the expeditions were sent out, the success achieved leaves nothing to be desired. It is something to be able to boast that after a campaign in which seventy thousand men were employed with conspicuous success, peace has been maintained for six months, and that the tribes will be careful for some time to come how they attack us. It is equally satisfactory to know, on the authority of Lord George Hamilton's despatch to the Government of India, that the forward school at Simla will for some time to come have to be careful not to plan unnecessary campaigns in the mountains between India and Afghanistan.

The *Pioneer* continues to oppose the occupation of the Khyber by a garrison of regular troops. It recalls how the pass was kept open from 1880 to 1897 without there being a single sepoy beyond Jamrud, and it believes that the Khyber might be safely entrusted to tribal management, as in years gone by. Our contemporary goes on to say:—

We hope that in any case the fatal mistake will not be made of maintaining a permanent garrison of regular troops in the Khyber. If that be done, then the risk of a tribal rising in years—or it may be in months—to come, will be increased, for the Afridis will always suspect that a sudden move may be made and a portion at least of their country annexed.

Respect for the independence of the tribes is the first condition of peace on the border.

An Indian correspondent writes:—"The remarks of 'Ouida' in the *Review of Reviews* on 'The Impeachment of Modern Italy' have been widely quoted in Indian papers, and the inordinate military expenditure of Italy and the suppression of freedom of speech in that country are compared with the similar blunders of the Indian administration. It is remarkable how keenly the average Englishman grasps foreign intelligence, and with what indifference he turns away from Indian intelligence. Hundreds of thousands of Englishmen who read with righteous indignation of the Dreyfus scandal do not know yet that there is a worse Dreyfus scandal in India, and that two leading citizens, the Natu brothers, have been kept in imprisonment for fifteen months without a specific charge against them and without a trial. When 'Ouida' calls on eminent writers of all nations to plead against the suppression of the Italian Press and freedom of speech, and to 'unite in the expression of their disgust at the suffocation of both,' does the writer dream, or do her readers dream, that there is a worse suffocation of the Press and of free speech in India? And when 'Ouida' speaks of the excessive taxation and the juggernaut of a military despotism which is crushing under its wheels the soul as well as the body of the Italian people, does she know, and do her readers know, that excessive land assessments are intensifying if not creating famines in India, and that useless military expenditure has ruined the finances and impoverished the people of India? It were better for Englishmen to cast the beam out of their own eye than to observe the mote in their neighbour's eye; and it is much to be desired that some great English writer would examine for himself and expose to his countrymen the folly, coercion and extravagance which are converting a most loyal, frugal and contented nation into discontented agitators and starving peasantry. Lord Macaulay showed up the bleeding of India under the Company's rule in his ever memorable essays on Clive and Hastings; but the surgical operation continues—not less injurious and fatal to India because the surgeon has become expert with his lancet. It would do Englishmen more good to know the whole truth about India than about Italy or France."

We regret to learn from Wednesday's papers that "Sir William and Lady Hunter have left England for Baku, on the Caspian, where their son, Mr. Campbell Hunter, is lying ill of typhoid fever." With reference to this announcement one of our Anglo-Indian correspondents writes:—"The immediate occasion for the rapid journey now being undertaken by Sir William and Lady Hunter to the shores of the Caspian Sea has become known to the public, and everyone sympathises with them in their domestic anxiety. But it is also reasonable to hope that their son, Mr. Campbell Hunter, having youth on his side, may, before they arrive at Baku, have overcome the plague which, it seems, can find its victims even in that petroleum-pervaded atmosphere. We sincerely trust that the case will so turn out, and thus the voyagers may be enabled to derive both pleasure and profit from the varied and picturesque routes through which they must travel. Sir William Hunter, with his keen eye for local incidents and conditions, and his talent for cyclopædic selection and grouping of facts, cannot fail to turn to good account his observations on the shores of that inland sea, and he may be moved to describe the marvellous organisation of the petroleum and naphtha industries which have made Baku one of the wonders of the modern world. It is now just over five and twenty years since H. M. Stanley, returning from those regions by way of Bombay, gave in the *Times of India* the first tangible description of those then nascent industries. Sir William Hunter may now be enabled to show the extent and value for Russian and other exploiters of those prolific fountains of fuel welling up from the under-world, and he is well able to assess the economic effect on present civilisations of these modern sources of illumination and motive-power.

"Then," our correspondent continues, "if happily the return journey permit of leisurely and cross-country travel, there are several other localities and objects in the Near East which may attract Sir William's descriptive pen. Why, for instance, should he not visit some of the villages in the Southern Caucasus where, as is yet vaguely understood, sericulture and special silk industries flourish? Such investigation might afford suggestive guidance for the improvement and consequent revival of that decaying industry in India. The railway route from Tiflis to the shores of the Euxine would afford many coigns of vantage for instructive description. And again, if time and strength admit, he may be tempted to give us a survey not only of the now great emporium of Batoum, but also of some others of the newly utilised ports on the Black Sea, and thus enlarge our knowledge of the commercial and industrial resources of the Near East. If even one half of the centres of observation can be touched by the returning traveller there will be complete recompense, not only to a selfish and ungrateful public, but also to the accomplished cyclopædist himself, for his now hurried and anxious journey, compelled by parental obligations."

THE PROPOSED INVASION OF TIBET.

INDIA has had many troubles to contend with in the last two years. She has had the permanent difficulties which arise from government by aliens—the keeping up of a foreign army, the costly system of administration, and the drain involved in the large payments which have to be made in Europe. She has had misfortunes, more or or less temporary, due to the famine and the plague. But perhaps of all her troubles one, the war beyond the frontier, has rankled most in the minds of her people; for it is not a necessary result of the existing system of government, nor can the most credulous ascribe it to the blind malignity of Nature. The occupation of Burma has meant a heavy drain on the revenues of India. The war beyond the North-West frontier has entirely deranged the Indian Budget, and at a time when money is so much needed for purposes of the utmost moment has forced on the authorities a policy of parsimony. Nay, they have been forced to borrow and thus make the war a permanent burden on the people of the country. And if it be asked what the people of India have gained by all this, it is indeed difficult to find an answer. So many more millions have been spent on war; so many more millions have been added to the ever growing Indian debt; by so much has the civil administration been starved; and by so much has the financial servitude of India been strengthened; the bones of some hundreds of brave men, English and Indian, lie in the Pathan valleys, but how India will be happier or more prosperous or more secure it is not easy to see. Burma is useful to British trade; therefore let the Indians bear the cost of its conquest and make good any deficit that may accrue during its occupation. The Afridis were stirred to revolt by a policy of encroachment and annexation; therefore let the Indians bear the whole expenses of the war beyond the frontier. And the worst of it all is that to this policy of annexation there seems to be no end. Even now it is believed that restless spirits are looking out for a new opening, and callous to the sufferings of India are ready to plunge into a new scheme of adventure. The North-West frontier, indeed, imperiously demands a rest. The "forwards" have already burnt their fingers there; but this does not of necessity mean that they will be content with a policy of peace. Why should they when they can wage glorious war at the expense of the Indians? If the North-West frontier is impossible, is there not the North-East? If there is not much hope of trade or revenue they will at least reach a most salubrious climate.

Some weeks ago there appeared a long letter in the *Spectator* on "The value of Tibet to England." It attracted little notice here, but in India it has already given rise to fears which might be thought extravagant if we had not before us the history of our dealings with the Pathans and Afghanistan. It is feared that the attempt to extend the Empire on the North-West frontier having proved so difficult and dangerous a task, the supporters of the forward policy may now turn their attention to the North-East, and may recoup themselves for disasters and disappointments elsewhere by the invasion and occupation of Tibet. That such a proceeding would be for the advantage of British trade and especially for the benefit of British residents in India, is the thesis propounded by Mr. Archibald Little in his letter to the *Spectator*. He does not, indeed, suggest that it would be directly beneficial to the people of India. Their part of the business would consist, it may be supposed, in finding men and money for the conquest, and in making good any deficit in the Tibetan revenues due to the conferring of a costly system of government on that country—an example of the extraordinary benevolence of Mr. Little and his countrymen at other people's expense. Tibet is nominally a part of the Chinese Empire but is really under the native Government of the Lamas. The Chinese content themselves with keeping a few weak garrisons in the country, and as they do not interfere with its internal affairs and receive no revenue they provoke no ill-feeling. Southern Tibet—for the North is practically uninhabitable—is chiefly pastoral; the main food of the people is barley, but this only grows in the sheltered ravines worn away by the streams. Such a country, it is evident, could not support an elaborate and expensive government such as that of British India. If English rule be established, the deficiency will have to be made up from external sources, and we know well enough where those sources will be found. All will fall in the end on the cruelly burdened taxpayers of the Indian Empire. It is evident that the trade with a pastoral people rich only in their flocks and herds could never reach a magnitude which would repay the cost of conquest and administration; and in fact it is not trade that Mr. Little puts forward as the chief motive for aggression. Nor is it especially for political reasons that he is anxious for the war, though the old Russian bogey is trotted out again. No, it is for something much more important—the provision of a sanatorium for our suffering countrymen in India. That we may not be accused of misrepresenting Mr. Little we quote his exact words:

> To say nothing of the trade, it is less on political than on sanitary grounds that I urge that Tibet be thrown open to settlement from India. I have myself twice recovered my health by fleeing from the steamy plains of China to the cold, dry atmosphere of the great plateau, and this notwithstanding the discomforts and hardships of land travel under present conditions. Englishmen in India need such a change within easy reach.

For many years the Indians have protested against the annual migration to the hills, the obstruction to public business, and the withdrawal of the Government from the influence of Indian public opinion. But it appears that Simla and Darjeeling are not remote enough. They are not behind the rain-belt. But the required climate can be found beyond the Himalayas. India is to be ruled from Tibet. In order to show the ease with which annexation could be carried out, the writer gives a highly imaginative account of the Macaulay mission which, according to him, was despatched into Tibet in 1885, and after having overcome the opposition of the Dalai-Lama's forces on the Sikkim frontier, had advanced to within three or four days march of Lhassa when it was recalled by the Indian Government. From this we have the following remarkable conclusion:—

> A mission of five hundred men despatched to Lhassa to-morrow would secure us the fealty of the Dalai-Lama, and free intercourse with the hardy Tibetan people.

But unfortunately for this pretty theory the historical basis is wanting. Mr. H. J. Elwes, who was a member of the Macaulay mission, has come forward to testify that all this fine story is nothing but a picturesque romance. As a matter of fact the mission, so far from gaining victories on the Sikkim frontier and coming within a few days' march of Lhassa, never left Darjeeling. Six months were spent in preparations; the Tibetans then took alarm and assembled a force on the frontier; three months were then occupied in negotiations; and finally the expedition was abandoned without having ever entered Tibetan territory. Its only result was a frontier war, the Tibetans the next year invading Sikkim and being driven out by our troops, who in turn entered the valley of Chumbi, which belongs to Tibet. Mr. Elwes is quite of Mr. Little's opinion as to the advantages of annexation, but he has a more lively sense of the difficulties involved. Far from drawing, like Mr. Little, invidious comparisons between Warren Hastings and his degenerate successors, Mr. Elwes says:—

> At the time, though much disappointed at missing the chance of seeing a country which has all my life had the greatest interest for me, I thought the Government acted wisely, as it is certain that an Embassy constituted as ours was could not have done much good, and would probably have got into serious trouble.

Nor does he support the scheme of a new expedition:—

> And I feel sure that the very worst way of opening up the country to trade and promoting an intercourse which would be most advantageous both to India and to Tibet, would be to adopt Mr. Little's plan of sending a mission of five hundred men to Lhassa. Three men of the right sort, one of whom could speak the Tibetan language fluently, would probably succeed in getting into friendly communication with the Tibetan Government, if properly supported from Calcutta, but five hundred would certainly fail to do anything but bring on a frontier war, which might last for years, and involve us in difficulties with Nepal and Bhotan.

Here then we have a glorious prospect—years of warfare to open up a sanatorium for "our toiling fellow-countrymen on the torrid plains of India." Truly the most wonderful cause of war ever suggested by the perverted ingenuity of man.

Nor does Mr. Little's account of the people quite make for his theory of their easy conquest. They are described as "far more frank and manly in their behaviour than the

Chinese," while some of them are said to be "a remarkably handsome race, with the splendid physique and carriage of the mountaineer." Further, they "all go armed with sword and musket." No doubt their arms are of a primitive pattern, and they have not yet had an opportunity, like our opponents of the North-West, to learn from us the arts of war; but if Mr. Little has his way, they will have many chances of doing so, and the demand for good rifles will meet with as ample a supply on the North-East as it has on the North-West. They fought for a hundred years against the Chinese after the so-called conquest of the country by the Emperor Kiealung, and these wars only came to an end when the Chinese contented themselves with a merely nominal sovereignty. That a railway is to be made connecting the new health resorts with Calcutta, so that enfeebled viceroys and fevered magistrates may make the journey in three days, is but a slight addition to the expenses of this new white elephant—a railway which would have to cross the great chain of the Himalayas and would reach in the end a pastoral country, rich only in sheep and yaks. Thus India would have to pay (1) the cost of a war which, according to Mr. Elwes, might last for years; (2) the cost of governing, under the most expensive system in the world, a country from which the Chinese now derive no revenue; and (3) the cost of a railway through as difficult a region as exists in the world, with very little chance of yielding any return. And as a reward the Indians will have the great pleasure of knowing that their Viceroy is recruiting his health in a splendid climate, and is ruling them from a position particularly inaccessible to any knowledge of their wants and wishes. That such proposals should be made is a striking example of the reckless arrogance with which members of the governing race treat the interests of the Indians as subordinate to the comforts of a few officials. That such proposals should be thought serious in India is a painful testimony to the criminal folly of which the Indians think their rulers capable.

A SCATHING EXPOSURE.

THE Indian Currency Committee and especially the Chairman, Sir Henry Fowler, should experience a very uncomfortable quarter of an hour when they read the able and cogent paper in the current number of the *National Review*, under the title "Shall the Indian Government ruin India?" The paper is not to be ignored as if it came from a politician playing a game of his own, or from an anonymous assailant. It is placed over the signature of Mr. T. Lloyd, editor of the *Statist*, and must therefore carry the weight of expert and responsible criticism, in addition to the special significance of its appearance in the *National Review*. We trust it will be widely read and pondered; and, in that case, it will contribute materially not only to the effective criticism of the financial projects of the Indian Government, but also to the general awakening of popular interest in the crucial problems of Indian administration.

Twenty years ago, as Mr. Lloyd points out, the demand for a gold standard was refused; six years ago a renewed demand gained the closing of the mints; now a third demand is before a third committee. The Report of the evidence recently published is characterised by Mr. Lloyd as "painful reading for those of us who take a pride in the Empire that has been handed down to us from our forefathers, believing that it ensures good government to all who live under its sway." The first thing that strikes Mr. Lloyd is the startling absence of Indian representatives from the Committee:—

> It would be incredible had it not happened before our eyes that, on these three committees which were formed for the express purpose of advising the Governments in London and in Calcutta what ought to be the money of India, not one single native of that country of any condition in life has been given a seat. The money that a people uses affects in the most intimate way almost every act of their lives, and certainly the whole well-being of every member of the community. Surely the people whose very existence is touched so deeply ought to be better able to say what money suits them best than can foreigners, who, let them take ever so much pains, can at the utmost get only a very faint and a very uncertain knowledge of the habits, customs, ways of life, and modes of thought of the strange people concerned. Yet not one single Indian, whether he has served the State or whether he has not, has been allowed to give an opinion on the matter in any one of these three several committees. The course so pursued does not reflect upon one Party alone. Both the great Parties are equally guilty.

Lord George Hamilton, it is true, does not want experts, but simply men capable of understanding and weighing evidence. "Is it possible for anyone," asks Mr. Lloyd, "to assert that, amongst nearly 300,000,000 of people in our great Eastern Dependency, there is not a man of any degree capable of understanding and weighing evidence?" But even if this monstrous assumption were true, "it is surely evident to the most superficial that Indian witnesses, at all events, are indispensable." Yet Indian witness there is none.

> It is quite right, of course, that the Indian Government should put its own case clearly and strongly before the committee. It is also quite right that merchants, manufacturers, tea-growers, and so on, should come forward. But what interest has any person in the guesses of gentlemen who know nothing of India and are not interested in it, however eminent they may be in other walks of life? Surely it cannot help the Committee to hear the opinions of such gentlemen. But it would help the Committee enormously to have the wishes of the Indian people brought authoritatively and explicitly before it. What is more important still, it would enable the whole public to judge what ought to be done. As matters stand at present the ordinary Englishman has no means of judging whether a change ought or ought not to be made. But if he could learn the real views of the Indian people he would not be likely to make a mistake. In short, without knowing the wishes of India we are groping in the dark, and what is still worse we are playing with fire.

Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt, and Mr. Martin Wood, all thoroughly capable of presenting the Indian case, offered to give evidence, and the offer was declined. Still the Committee will have no excuse for overlooking them; for statements have been submitted by them in writing, though not a trace of them appears in the Report. We dare say Lord George Hamilton will have them published eventually, in fulfilment of his promise; but they will probably be reserved as an appendix to the last volume of the evidence, in which case they will have no time to influence public opinion before the Committee makes known its decision. Mr. Lloyd lays special stress—as also does Mr. R. C. Dutt in his letter to the *Manchester Guardian*, which we reproduce elsewhere—on the enormous and dangerous depreciation of the value of Indian silver hoardings, a depreciation he estimates at no less than £100,000,000. "Is it possible," he asks, "to doubt that the discovery of this fact must spread disaffection throughout the length and breadth of the land?" Lastly he points out the interest of the Native Princes, and expresses his natural amazement that neither have they been invited to give evidence in person or by representatives.

Having shown the total lack of weight of most of those that have been admitted to give evidence, Mr. Lloyd confines his attention to the official representatives of the Indian Government—the permanent head of the Indian Treasury and the Chief of Statistics in India. These men, if any, will present the Government case. And what does Mr. Lloyd find?

> They do not add one single material fact to what has been said over and over again by themselves, or their colleagues, or their predecessors. Practically their whole argument comes to this, that the fall in the exchange had, when the mints were closed, plunged the Indian Treasury into such embarrassments that either the coinage of silver had to be suspended, or an immense addition had to be made to the taxation, or India must have broken faith with her creditors.

"If the Committee were properly constituted, and especially if its Chairman was animated by the sole desire to get at the full truth and nothing but the truth, these two gentlemen would have been asked" some searching questions that they were not asked. For example: On what grounds do you assume that an immense burden of fresh taxation would have to be imposed upon India if the mints had been kept open, or were now to be reopened? As a matter of fact, did the fall in exchange during the twenty years or so preceding the meeting of the Herschell Committee compel the Indian Government to increase exorbitantly the taxation? On the assumption that a large addition to taxation would have become necessary if the mints had been kept open, what grounds are there for believing that the people are incapable of paying, without serious trouble, the new taxation? No such questions were put. The reason is obvious enough; the answers—although, we imagine, very largely different from what Mr. Lloyd seems to expect—would have laid open fields of deeper enquiry which the Government resolutely keep closed. This fact in itself condemns the whole business. Furthermore:—

> If the Committee were anxious to get at the full truth, and if the Indian Government desired to lay all available information before the British public, the official witnesses would not only have volunteered answers to the questions put above, but they would also

have submitted to the Committee as accurate statistics as could be collected, showing, firstly, the increase of taxation from 1871 to 1893, compared with the increase in the same number of years immediately preceding; secondly, elaborate statistics showing the growth of trade in the two periods selected for comparison; thirdly, the increase in the area under cultivation, also in the same periods; fourthly, the growth of population, likewise in the same periods; fifthly, the range of prices in the two periods of a large number of the principal commodities consumed in India; sixthly, as many figures as could be got together, or such other information, as would enable the Committee and the public to judge of the growth of wealth in the two periods. . . . . Lastly, the official witnesses ought to have submitted to the Committee the immense body of available information respecting the springing up of new industries throughout India since 1871, such as the export of wheat, the cutting out of China by India in the tea trade, the expansion of the jute industry, and so on. And, above all, the official witnesses ought to have volunteered such exhaustive information as with all its efforts the Indian Government had been able to get together during the preceding five or six years respecting the probable influence of reopening the mints or adopting the gold standard upon the competition of silver-using countries like China with India, and upon similar subjects. From the answers of Mr. Finlay and Mr. O'Conor it would appear—incredible as it sounds—that although the Indian Government has been pressing the Home Government for permission to stop the coinage of silver for nearly a quarter of a century it has never thought it necessary to collect information on any one of those points. It has not even done so simple and comparatively easy a thing as to keep a record of prices during the period.

And yet, as Mr. Lloyd is forced to conclude, "the British public is asked to give *carte blanche* regarding the currency of India to a Government which has shown itself so regardless of information and so ignorant of vital facts bearing upon the question as the examination of these two gentlemen discloses." This, however, is but a sample of the invariable practice of the Government in every other department.

Mr. Lloyd next turns to the future of Indian trade. He points to the progress and activity of Japan, and to the imminent opening up of China not merely by British, but also by American, German, French, Russian, and Japanese skill and capital. His conclusion is that "what the sapient administrators of India are trying to bring about" is this—that "a Chinese merchant, exporting goods to Europe or the United States, shall be able to undersell his Indian competitor to any extent necessary up to about 50 per cent."! Discussing the contention of the Indian Government as to the fall of exchange, namely, that a gold standard is necessary to obviate additional taxation which India cannot bear, Mr. Lloyd points out that by the closing of the mints the Government "has already imposed upon its subjects more taxation than would be required to meet a very serious fall in exchange, and a very considerable war besides." We have often driven this point home; but let Mr. Lloyd speak for himself:—

The taxation therefore has been increased, according to the showing of the Indian Government, by about fifty per cent. . . . . Every debtor of every kind is being deprived by the action of the Government of fifty per cent. more than he actually contracted to pay. In other words, by forcing up the rupee the Indian Government is carrying out a wholesale system of confiscation which has not been witnessed before elsewhere in the world in a time of peace under a civilised government. Through sheer political cowardice the Government is enriching the zemindars, the landlords of every kind, whether great or small, the bankers, the money-lenders, the usurers, and so on, at the expense of the real producers of India, the men who constitute the backbone of its population and the makers of its wealth. The Government is always complaining that the usurers are getting possession of too much of the land of India, and ousting from it the peasant agriculturists, and very strong measures indeed have been taken to stop the process. Yet in face of this the Government is now adding nearly half as much again to the burdens of the whole of the peasantry of India, and making a present of the amount to the very usurers whom they are trying to keep in restraint! Such blind incapacity and suicidal folly have seldom been witnessed in this world. The mistakes this country made when she lost the thirteen original American colonies were quite venial compared with this almost incredible impolicy. And yet the Indian Government does not think it necessary to make out any case for its fatuous course beyond showing that it has to pay now for every pound sterling due in London a great many more rupees than it had to pay a few years ago. And the leaders of the two great parties at home seem to think that a sufficient argument.

Mr. Lloyd deals all too shortly with the Home Charges, on which still more drastic criticisms might be passed. "It is almost incredible," he imagines, that Sir Henry Fowler does not see through the single point Mr. Lloyd raises. Yet not a question on it was addressed to the official witnesses! "What is to be thought of an enquiry conducted in this spirit?" Let Sir Henry Fowler answer. Let the country consider. For ourselves, we imagine the ostensible purpose of the enquiry is anything but the real purpose. And that view also is worth the consideration of the public.

BUDDHISM AS PRACTISED BY THE BURMESE.[1]

We have had in recent years many learned works on the subject of Buddhism. Scholars have given us translations of books believed to be sacred by the Buddhists; interesting and instructive accounts of the life of the great Buddha; and more or less exhaustive summaries of the doctrines promulgated by that "just man made perfect." As was to be expected, controversies have arisen as to the meaning and significance of *Nirvana*, the supposed ultimate end of life according to the Buddhists, as to whether they believe in the existence of a personal deity, as to whether they have faith in the efficacy of prayer, and various other matters connected with human existence. These controversies have not added much to our knowledge of Buddhism, but have helped to obscure its doctrines and confuse the principles on which it is based.

Mr. Fielding, who appears to have been in the Burma Commission for many years, to have lived amongst the Burmese people with an unprejudiced and open mind, and to have enjoyed exceptional advantages for studying them from many points of view, does not enter into these controversies. He has portrayed the people as he found them, and given us Buddhism as it is to be found in their daily life as fathers, mothers, husbands, wives, brothers, sisters, lovers. The portraiture is very sympathetic, and pencilled in language simple and earnest, at times rising to eloquence. He appears to have had no preconceived ideas to ventilate, no theory to support, and hence his book, "The Soul of a People," from the perusal of which we have risen with much pleasure, is a valuable contribution to the literature of Buddhism as that religion is practised at the present time by the Burmese. Everyone who is interested in Burma and the Burmese will find this book exceptionally useful, and those who desire more light on the subject of Buddhism cannot do better than go through its pages for it.

It would not be fair to Mr. Fielding were we to make copious extracts from his work. But to make good what we have said about it we must give a few. The Buddhistic conception of man as understood in Burma, Mr. Fielding says, is:—

"Men are not born by chance wise or foolish, righteous or wicked, strong or feeble. A man's condition in life is the absolute result of an eternal law that as a man sows so shall he reap; that as he reaps so has he sown.

"Therefore, if you find a man's desires naturally given towards evil, it is because he has in his past life educated himself to evil. And if he is righteous and charitable, long suffering and full of sympathy, it is because in his past existence he has cultivated these virtues; he has followed goodness, and it has become a habit of his soul.

"Thus is every man his own maker. He has no one to blame for his imperfections but himself, no one to thank for his virtues but himself. Within the unchangeable laws of righteousness each man is absolutely the creator of himself and of his own destiny. It has lain, and it lies within each man's power to determine what manner of man he shall be. Nay, it not only is within his power to do so, but a man must actually develop himself. There is no other way in which he can develop" (p. 48).

"Repentance to a Buddhist is but the opening of the eyes to see the path to righteousness; it has no virtue in itself. To have seen that we are sinners is but the first step to cleansing our sin; in itself it cannot purify" (p. 326).

"A man is what he makes himself; and that making is a matter of terrible effort, of unceasing endeavour towards the right, of constant suppression of sin, till sin be at last dead within him. If a man has lived a wicked live, he dies a wicked man, and no wicked man can obtain the perfect rest of the sinless dead. Heaven is shut to him. But if heaven is shut, it is not shut for ever; if hell may perhaps open to him, it is only for a time, only he is purified and washed from the stain of his sins; and then he can begin again, and have another chance to win heaven. If there is no immediate heaven there is no eternal hell, and in one time all will reach heaven; all will have learnt, through suffering, the wisdom the Buddha has shown to us, that only by a just life can men reach the Great Peace even as he did" (p. 327).

Politics would be out of place in a book like this, and Mr. Fielding has taken pains to exclude the subject from it. But notwithstanding his efforts, there are interspersed here and there statements of facts which indicate that King Thebaw, from whom we filched Upper Burma, is not the monster he was depicted to be by those who induced the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava to make war on him. Here is a passage:—

"This is a people that believes its religion without a doubt, believes that it is not good to drink stimulants, or to smoke opium. There used to be tales told long ago of King Thebaw, how he was a drunkard and had orgies in his palace. *We know now that there was not a word of truth in those reports, that abstinence was enforced in the palace even more*

[1] "The Soul of a People," by H. Fielding. London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1898.

strictly than elsewhere. How the reports ever arose I could never ascertain—certainly not from Burman sources. I have never met a Burman who knew of the palace who did not treat them with scorn. The merchant I have been speaking of in my story about the whisky, told me that we English had INVENTED THEM. He was much in the palace in the old days, knew most of the officials well; he knows more of the Burmans than any non-Burman I ever met, and he says that there was not one word of truth in the English reports that the King drank" (pp. 254-255).

The italics are our own. It is time we heard the truth about the charges of murder that were also brought against King Thebaw. They would in all likelihood be found to be as baseless.

Space forbids us to deal further with Mr. Fielding's book. Its pages are replete with matters of the first importance to the student of religion, morality, manners and society, and we cordially invite the attention of the reader to them. The Indian Civil Service has given us distinguished administrators as also writers of eminence. If Mr. Fielding's future works are at all equal to this, which is perhaps his first effort, he is destined to occupy a high place among them.

CHRONICLE OF THE WEEK.

THURSDAY, November 3.—No official statement regarding the Fashoda question was published in Paris. The Paris *Liberté* affirmed that Major Marchand would immediately return to Fashoda from Cairo, and that the French Government "is quite resolved on accepting no objection from the British Government on this point." It added that Baron de Courcel, who had received very full instructions, was to have an interview with Lord Salisbury to-morrow, and that the result of this interview would determine the definitive solution which the Ministry would probably adopt before Monday, so as to be able to reply to M. de Mun's interpellation. The *République Française* scouted the idea that, after the humiliation imposed, or sought to be imposed, upon France cordial relations could be revived between the two countries. The *Temps* anticipated that the position of the mission at Fashoda having been deemed untenable, Major Marchand would receive instructions to allow the Egyptian commandant to resume possession of the buildings of the old mudirieh of Fashoda.

The Sheffield Cutlers feast took place. Mr. Goschen was to have been the principal guest, but was unable to attend. He sent a message explaining that it was absolutely impossible for him to leave the Admiralty, where his continuous presence was necessary. Sheffield would appreciate this in the present state of affairs. The Duke of Norfolk replied to the toast of "her Majesty's Ministers" and said it was impossible for him to express how all-sustaining it was to the Ministry to feel, at a critical time like the present, that they were upheld by the feeling of their countrymen. The nation would calmly await the issues before it.

The Turkish Military Governor in Crete received orders to embark the remaining troops, except the artillerymen, and these orders were obeyed. Precautions were taken by the Admirals with a view to the occupation of the forts by the international troops to-morrow. From Athens it was reported that the nomination of Prince George of Greece to the Governorship of Crete might now be regarded as a *fait accompli*.

FRIDAY, November 4.—A semi-official note issued in Paris stated that the French Government had decided to recall the Marchand mission from Fashoda, and that it would explain its motives when interpellated on the subject in the Chamber.

Lord Kitchener was presented with the freedom of the City and a sword of honour at the Guildhall. In the evening the Lord Mayor entertained Lord Kitchener and a brilliant company of guests at a banquet in the Mansion House. Lord Salisbury proposed the health of the Sirdar, and said that no one could wonder at the vast enthusiasm with which the career of that great soldier had been received in the City. Lord Salisbury then stated that he had received from the French Minister that afternoon the information that the French Government had come to the conclusion that the occupation of Fashoda was of no sort of value to the French Republic. They had shown wisdom, and had done what he believed every other Government would have done in the same position, and had resolved that their occupation should cease. He did not wish it to be understood that all causes of controversy between the two Governments had been removed. It was probably not so; but still a controversy of a somewhat dangerous character had been removed, and for that gratifying and somewhat unexpected result they were largely indebted to the chivalrous character and diplomatic talent of the Sirdar.

The evacuation of Crete by the Turkish garrisons was said to have been completed, and the international troops and authorities occupied the various forts and public offices.

SATURDAY, November 5.—The Cretan Christians declined to surrender their arms before the Turkish flag and the last Turkish soldier had been removed from the island. On Friday night the Turkish transports not having arrived at Candia, Rear-Admiral Noel ordered the Turkish Governor to embark all his troops and munitions on board a British transport lying off the town. The embarkation was begun, but was suspended to-day when a Turkish transport arrived. The Governor received orders from the Porte to suspend the embarkation, and demanded the trans-shipment of the soldiers on board the Turkish transport, but Rear-Admiral Noel refused this demand and insisted on the completion of the evacuation, which was carried out. Not a single Turkish soldier now remained in Candia, and the Turkish flag had been struck; but there were still 160 Turkish troops at Canea, 120 at Retimo, and 100 in other places.

The decision of the French Government to evacuate Fashoda was generally commented on by the Paris journals in an aggrieved tone, but with less irritation than seemed likely. The *Liberté* admitted that neither the Chambers nor the country would have tolerated a war for the sake of Fashoda, and hoped that France would for the present be content to develop the territory she had already acquired without sending out annexation expeditions at random. The *Matin* described the Fashoda enterprise as "perhaps a generous but at the same time a gross and artless blunder." It trusted that negotiations for the delimitation of the boundaries might soon begin.

The "Hohenzollern" with the German Imperial party on board reached Beirut this morning, but they remained on board the yacht all day. To-night there was a grand display of fireworks in the harbour. On Tuesday morning the Emperor and Empress were to leave for Damascus.

SUNDAY, November 6.—Major Marchand was entertained at dinner by the French Club at Cairo. In reply to the toast of his health, Major Marchand said he was unable to say much on a day which had caused him great sorrow on account of the official abandonment of Fashoda by the French Government. Three years ago the French of France had started to carry across French Africa a hand-grip to the French of Egypt, who, if few to-day, would be numerous to-morrow, forgetting nothing and abandoning nothing.

MONDAY, November 7.—Lord Curzon of Kedleston, Viceroy-Designate of India, was entertained at dinner by the Royal Societies Club in their club-house, St. James's Street. A report of his speech will be found on another page.

The German Imperial party arrived at Damascus, where they were welcomed by large crowds of the population.

TUESDAY, November 8.—The Admirals notified the Turkish Governor that he must leave the island, taking with him the remaining Ottoman troops.—Five more Candia Mahometans who took a leading part in the massacre of September 6 were hanged yesterday. Two of them resisted desperately and were dragged forcibly to the scaffold.—It was stated in St. Petersburg that the assent of all the Powers had now been obtained to the nomination of Prince George of Greece as Governor-General of Crete, and that the Sultan had acquiesced.

At to-day's sitting of the Chamber of Deputies in Paris there was a crowded gathering in expectation of a declaration by M. Delcassé in reply to M. Brunet's interpellation on the Fashoda affair, but M. Brunet withdrew his interpellation amid applause from all parties in the Chamber, and nothing was said on the question.

The Criminal Chamber of the Court of Cassation sat to take the evidence on the Dreyfus affair of the ex-Ministers of War. General Mercier, M. Cavaignac, and General Billot gave evidence. The proceedings of the Court were conducted with closed doors, and neither Mme. Dreyfus's counsel nor the Procureur-Général was allowed to be present. It was said that the Court intended to ask the German and Italian Governments to allow their former Military Attachés in Paris to be interrogated by judicial commission.

WEDNESDAY, November 9.—Replying at the Guildhall banquet to the toast of her Majesty's Ministers, Lord Salisbury referred to the International Conference on the subject of Anarchism, and remarked that although we had consented to take part in it, we could not assent to anything which would curtail the liberty of our countrymen. Dealing with events in Crete the Prime Minister paid a high compliment to Admiral Noel. As to Fashoda Lord Salisbury paid a tribute to the judgment and common sense of the French statesmen who had averted the danger of war, although that danger had not been quite so near as newspapers on both sides of the Channel had induced the public to believe. It had been anticipated in some quarters that he would announce a protectorate over Egypt, but he had no such announcement to make. He earnestly hoped that no circumstances would make it necessary to modify in any degree our position in Egypt, and he was convinced the world would not get on as peaceably as it did now if such a necessity were imposed upon us. As for the surprise which some people felt at our continued military and naval preparations, it was impossible to bring them to an end all at once.

BRITISH INDIANS IN THE TRANSVAAL.

PETITION TO THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

The following petition has been received by the British Committee of the Indian National Congress. The petition has been forwarded to India, and a copy of it has been sent by Sir W. Wedderburn, M.P. (Chairman of the British Committee), to the Secretary of State for the Colonies:—

Johannesburg, South African Republic.
August 22, 1898.

To the Chairman and Members of the
Indian National Congress.

Gentlemen,—We, the undersigned British subjects residing at Johannesburg, in the South African Republic, desire to respectfully draw the attention of your Congress to the following facts:—

1. That we are British subjects, born in British India, and trading at Johannesburg as merchants and shopkeepers.

2. That some of us have resided in this Republic for twelve years and upwards, and have valuable stocks of goods in our business premises at Johannesburg.

3. That we respectfully submit that as British subjects we are entitled to the full benefit of the Convention, known as the London Convention, entered into in the year 1884 between her Majesty's Government and the Government of the South African Republic, Article 14 whereof provides that all British subjects shall have the right to reside and carry on business in any part of the South African Republic.

4. That the High Court of this Republic has recently decided that all Indians and other Asiatics must reside and trade in certain locations to be pointed out by the Government of this Republic, and not elsewhere.

5. That the said decision of the High Court was based upon an enactment of the Volksraad of this Republic, passed subsequent to the Convention aforesaid, to wit in the year 1885, being Law No. 3 of 1885, which said Law is in direct conflict with the express terms of the said Convention.

6. That even assuming that we are bound by the provisions of the said Law No. 3 of 1885, which we deny, then we respectfully submit that the said decision of the High Court of this Republic is bad in law, and manifestly contrary to the true meaning and intent of the said Law, which provides that the Government of this Republic shall have the right to fix places of residence in locations for Asiatics in this Republic, but in no way restrict the rights of Asiatics to trade in any part of this Republic.

7. That the said decision of the High Court is final and no appeal lies therefrom.

8. That we cannot believe that it was or is the intention of her Majesty's Government to consent to our being deprived of those rights expressly secured to all British subjects by the London Convention aforesaid and to consent to Indian British subjects being placed in a worse position, so far as treaty rights are concerned, than European British subjects.

9. That we have no doubt that the said decision of the High Court of this Republic will be enforced forthwith, and that we will be obliged to close our places of business in and about Johannesburg and to reside and trade in locations to be fixed at the arbitrary choice of the Government of this Republic, which proposed locations are situate about *three miles* from Johannesburg, and adjoining the Kafir location; the result of which measure will be that we will be ruined in our businesses, and be deprived of the means of earning a livelihood, and will be compelled to leave this State, as Johannesburg is the only important business centre in this Republic and the place where most of the Indians in this republic reside and carry on business.

We, therefore, respectfully request your Congress to use its great influence on our behalf with a view to obtaining redress of our grievances.

We have the honour to be, Gentlemen,
Your most obedient servants,
(Here follow various signatures.)

LORD CURZON AT THE ROYAL SOCIETIES' CLUB.

Lord Curzon of Kedleston, Viceroy-designate of India, was entertained at dinner on Monday night (November 7) by the Royal Societies' Club. Replying to the toast of his health,

Lord Curzon, who was most cordially received on rising, said that India had always seemed to him to be the pivot and centre, he did not say the geographical, but the political centre, of our Imperial system. To his mind, we were before anything else an Asiatic empire, and he ventured to think that the man who had never been east of Suez did not know what the British empire was. (Cheers.) Here in Europe we occupied a few islands that were scattered on the surface of the northern sea. We possessed a number of posts of vantage along the highways of commerce in the Mediterranean, and we had also a navy so formidable that it constituted us the most powerful maritime nation in the world. On the American continent, in the Atlantic, and in the Pacific Oceans we possessed great tracts of territory, amounting in some cases to the size of continents, which were peopled by people of our own blood and flew our own flag and acknowledged the sovereignty of our Queen. (Cheers.) But these positions had been taken up by other nations before. It was in India that the great experiment was being made. It was in India that we were doing a work that no nation had ever attempted to do, and by the doing of which we should be judged in history. (Cheers.) That would be the touchstone of our national greatness or our national failure. The casual stone which was thrown into the sea of chance by a handful of merchant adventurers two hundred years ago had produced an ever-extending circle of ripples, until at the present moment they embraced the limits and affected the destinies of the entire Asiatic continent. (Cheers.) He was one of those who thought that the eastern trend of empire would increase and not diminish. In his opinion the strain upon us would become greater and not less, and the time would come when Asiatic sympathies and knowledge would not be the hobby of a few individuals, but would be the interest of the entire nation. It was because of the intensity of the conviction with which he held those views that all his travels, his studies, and his writings, such as they had been, had been connected with the theme of India and with the countries that bounded it. No more pleasing or honourable task could, he conceived, be imagined than that of travelling over the confines of the Indian Empire and of observing the manner in which we there discharged our Imperial task. In doing so he had learnt something of the character and the temperament of the Native tribes. Those wild tribesmen had an individuality that was entirely their own. We had sometimes—he might even say often—been compelled to fight them. We had never fought them gladly, and we had always sheathed the sword with pleasure, for there was a manliness in their patriotism and there was a love of independence in their blood that was akin to our own. If he were asked what appeared to him to be the secret of the proper treatment of those tribes, or of Oriental races in general, he would reply that it consisted in treating them as if they were men of like composition with ourselves. He did not mean to suggest that they had the same views, the same scruples, the same precepts, or the same codes as ourselves. Of course the diametrically opposite was the case. But he did say that there was a common bond of manhood, there was the element of a common humanity which held us together, which was the true link between us, and the recognition of which, along with the true spirit of friendship which it engendered, was the secret of the success of every great frontier officer we had ever had. (Cheers.) He knew that there was a common belief in this country that the Oriental was a solemn and reflective creature from whom we were separated by oceans of moral and intellectual difference; and nowhere had this been better expressed than in the magnificent verse of Matthew Arnold:—

> "The East bowed low before the blast
> In patient, deep disdain,
> She let the legions thunder past
> And plunged in thought again."

There was no doubt a great deal of truth in that. That was the nature of the Oriental as contrasted with the Western temperament; but he ventured to think that while it was absolutely true of the low-lying plains, it was not true, or at any rate it was less true, of the highlanders on the outskirts of our Indian dominions. There they found a light-hearted and festive temperament, they met with dancing and song; above all they met with the power of a well-organised and well-delivered joke. (Cheers and laughter). When he looked back on some of his experiences he recognised that the saving grace of humour was just as much a property of Orientals as of ourselves, and that the man who wanted to find the key to their hearts as well as their sympathies had better employ that weapon. (Cheers.) Then he had been very much struck in his frontier travels by the character and by the work that was being there performed by young British officers in positions of responsibility and of command. They might think, perhaps, that he had a natural and even a selfish propensity towards youth. (Laughter.) So he had. (Cheers.) He would be the last to deny it, and he hoped he would retain it even when he was old. He was certain of one thing—that the old men who were capable of rendering service to their country were also men who were capable of stimulating, encouraging and utilising the service of the young. (Cheers.) They might think that youth was synonymous with impetuosity. He had found in those regions just as great a sense of responsibility, as cool a judgment, and as wise a forecast among the young as he had among their seniors. They employed, and rightly employed, the greybeards in their councils and in positions of control; but they required on the outskirts of their dominion the energy of youth. He looked forward with enthusiasm to being the colleague and leader of those young men, and he wished them God-speed in the work they had undertaken. (Cheers.) Then, again, upon the frontiers one saw something at first hand of the native soldiers of the Indian Empire. He wished those brave men were better known at home. It was only to ignorance that could be attributed the utterly inadequate response which had been made to the return closed that evening for the Indian Heroes' Fund for the relief of the families of those who had fought so gallantly for us in the frontier campaigns of last year. In those campaigns those men had fought and died for us—had fought against men of their own race, of their own religion, sometimes of their own family, with just as much strenuousness and loyalty as if they had been a British redcoat defending a British home. (Cheers.) In proportion to the ignorance which prevailed upon that subject was the duty which rested upon those who knew how to speak. He doubted if people knew what a magnificent army we had in India. In reality we held India, we defended her frontiers, we fought her battles by the aid of her sons. (Cheers.) Lord Curzon went on to speak of the great difference which had come about in communication with India in recent times. The long voyages formerly rendered necessary were now curtailed to very small dimensions, and this had reduced the time spent by British officials in India. In the old days men stayed in India for their whole careers; they were continued in the post for which

they were fitted year after year without removal. A man perhaps had a holiday only once in the whole of his Indian experience. Right on to the course of the present century they had a Viceroy who occupied the Viceregal chair for a period of ten years. There were great advantages in that system. There grew up from it a sympathetic, an intimate knowledge which was an immeasurable advantage in the developing and pacification of that country. By a decision which had become almost invariable a Viceroy had now to spend five years in India. During that time he was a prisoner, and in his case it would be a most happy imprisonment. He was a prisoner behind the bars of that gilded cage. Whether the period of five years was enough for him to make any serious impression upon the tremendous problems that came before him, upon the vast populations that were submitted to his care was a question that he would be better able to answer five years hence than now. Anyhow, they were certain to be the most responsible years of his life. He could not take up that task without feeling that there was much in it that was altogether beyond his powers, that exceeded, perhaps, his most extreme desires; but at the same time he believed that he might confidently rely upon the indulgence and the toleration of his fellow-countrymen, and that they would echo the God-speed which they had given to him that night. (Loud cheers.)

SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN ON CHRISTIANITY AND POLITICS.

On Thursday, October 27, Sir W. Wedderburn, M.P., delivered an address at the Guildhall, Gloucester, as President elect of the Gloucester Young Men's Christian Association. The following report is taken from the *Gloucester Journal*.

Sir William Wedderburn, M.P., who was most heartily applauded on rising to deliver his presidential address, first of all referred to the object of the Association, which he said was to influence young men who were entering upon life in such a way that they might regulate their lives in accordance with Christian teaching. It was their daily life that should be regulated in that way, and not in reference to Sundays only. They wanted to regulate their lives according to Christian teaching, not in a portion, but in all their activities—in matters great or small: personal, social, or national. . . . . Proceeding to speak of the public, rather than the private application of the objects of the Association, Sir William said that all his life he had been engaged in public affairs. He had, to the best of his humble abilities, served his country in very distant lands, and he had had some personal experience of dealing with other races; and he could only say that, in all that personal experience, he found the Christian teaching to be the best practical solution of the difficulties that they had had to encounter. There was one simple and easy rule which any child could understand and any honest man could put into effect—the golden rule of "Do unto others as ye would they should do unto you." (Applause.) It really seemed that it would be much easier to give effect in public affairs to that doctrine than in private matters. As a nation we were not so much affected by these petty private considerations; and yet the extraordinary thing was that whereas as individuals so many people were found anxiously and conscientiously following the plain line of duty, it appeared to him that in our public affairs we did not act up to the same standard of righteousness. Therefore he asked the most important question, "Does our public life come up to the Christian standard?" He did not think that any person would say it did. Not only did it not come up to the Christian standard, but it did not come up even to the standard of the private practice of individuals. A higher care and degree of consciousness was demanded from the person who acted as trustee for another as regarded the matter of the trust, than was expected from him in the management of his own affairs. Let that be put to the test as regarded our doings for the nation. We were trustees for 250,000,000 of our fellow-subjects in India; and one of the voters he was addressing had more power over the Government of India, than all those millions put together. How did we carry out that trust; did we give greater care to the interests and resources of India than to our own? When it was a question of managing our own affairs in the House of Commons, the expenditure of every penny was scrutinised most carefully and debated for weeks and weeks together; but when it came to dealing with the finances of India — when it was a matter of life and death to those poor people, who often died in thousands from hunger and plague—the House of Commons grudgingly gave a few hours in one day at the end of the Session to deal with the whole of the affairs of those 250,000,000 people. ("Shame.") Was that in accordance with the standard of Christian teaching; was it doing unto others as we would they should do unto us? It was not, and not only was the House of Commons responsible, but every single voter throughout the United Kingdom. Why was it that the members of Parliament attended to the financial affairs of this country and not to those of India? Because the voters compelled them to; they would lose their seats if they did not look after the affairs of this country. The hon. member gave another instance in which the standard of public morality fell short of that which was exacted in private life. Let them take the question of foreign affairs. A wise and reasonable man who had a little boundary difference with a neighbour would get some impartial third party to settle it; he would not quarrel with his neighbour, and much less would he go to law. If he did go to law that would be the worst thing he would do; they would not expect him to try and kill his neighbour. In these days a person would be considered as simply mad who even contemplated, because he had a little difference about a boundary, arming himself with a bowie knife and revolver with a view to killing his neighbour. Why should not that apply to nations as well? (Applause.) If nations were wise and reasonable they would not even quarrel over those matters; they could not go to law, but they could go to diplomacy, which he thought was nearly as bad. (Laughter.) For a nation to savagely arm with a view to killing hundreds of thousands of innocent people did not appear to him to be the act of sane and reasonable people. (Applause.) Why should we not go to arbitration to settle those matters? It was very easy to cultivate our vanity; selfishness and greediness were inherent in human nature. In our worst moods we were apt to be vain-glorious, greedy, and violent; but instead of making those virtues and things to be cultivated, we wanted to suppress those feelings and encourage unselfishness and peacefulness, with thought for the rights of others. (Applause.) The patriotic person was he who tried to cultivate in a nation that ideal. A nation ought to be a pattern for individuals, and not the reverse. (Applause.) We should cultivate a sensitive conscience; when we had any dispute with our neighbours we should try to put ourselves in imagination in their place, and deal with the matter in a calm, reasonable, and unselfish spirit. He could not see why the same moral considerations that were binding on the individual should not be binding upon the nation, which was simply an aggregate of individuals. If anything were wrong for him to do acting by himself, how did it become right if he did it jointly with several other people? (Hear, hear.) The nation should be better than the individual, and it should aim at the highest ideal, which was to be found in the Bible —"Peace on earth, goodwill towards men"; and the principles laid down in the Sermon on the Mount. We had a great deal to do with weaker races, and we should remember that a black man as well as a white man had his natural feelings, and that his land, liberty, home, and family were dear to him. He (Sir William) desired the greatness and power of the British Empire, and during the years he was in India he had done what he could to build it up; but, as Shakespeare said, whilst it was excellent to have a giant's strength, it was tyrannous to use it like a giant. He wished that British power and influence should extend, and that wherever it did so it should be a blessing and never be a curse; and it would never be a curse as long as we followed those precepts to which he had referred. (Loud applause.)

MR. ROMESH DUTT ON THE CURRENCY COMMITTEE.

The following letter from Mr. Romesh C. Dutt, C.I.E., appeared in the *Manchester Guardian* of Saturday last (November 5):—

Kindly permit me to point out a mistake which the writer of the article on the "Indian Currency Committee," in your issue of this morning has committed in making the following remark:—"A suggestion by Mr. Lloyd that native Indian witnesses ought to be examined by the Committee is, of course, not unreasonable; but even in regard to this matter Mr. Lloyd is not quite fair either to the Indian Government or to the Committee. It ought not to be forgotten that the Viceroy's Council includes Native members." Permit me to point out that the Viceroy's Executive Council, which is responsible for the proposals submitted to the Secretary of State for India, does not include one single Native member. It is considered that the administration of the Indian Empire can be efficiently controlled and supervised by his Excellency the Viceroy without having on his Executive Council one single Native member to advise him and to represent the views and opinions of his countrymen. All executive matters, like the currency question, railways, irrigation, land settlements, and others vitally affecting the well-being of the Indian nation, are disposed of by the Executive Council of the Viceroy, which does not include, and never has included, one single Native member. To my thinking this is the very reason why the interests of the people of India have not been sufficiently safeguarded, why the public debt has gone up by leaps and bounds, why taxation has been screwed up beyond all reasonable limits, and why the agricultural population of India has been so impoverished that they fall an easy prey to famines after every bad harvest.

The Viceroy has also a Legislative Council, and this Council includes some Native members. They have no power to speak or to advise except on legislative measures and bills before the Council, and even in reference to these bills their discussions are more formal than effective. All important bills (like the late Sedition Bills) obtain the assent of the Secretary of State for India before they are placed before the Legislative Council, and when such high sanction has been obtained the official majority carry them through, and the opposition of the Native members is a farce. Slight modifications in the wording or in details are all that they can secure, if the official majority are kind enough to grant them.

With regard to the currency question, the educated people of India, in so far as I have seen their opinions expressed in their journals, are practically unanimous against the closing of the mints and the raising of the value of the rupee artificially. Their arguments are these. (1) Virtually all the investments of the millions of India take the shape of silver trinkets and jewellery for their women; and this is the national wealth of India. By artificially raising the value of the rupee the Government has confiscated between 20 and 30 per cent. of the value of this national wealth, estimated in the currency of the land. It is an act of confiscation all the more cruel because it touches the poor millions of India. (2) All the rent paid by the agriculturists of India (and four-fifths of the population depend directly or indirectly on agriculture) is paid in rupees. To raise the value of rupees artificially is to increase the rental and to impoverish the agriculturists, who are already in an abject state of poverty. (3) The agriculturists are deeply indebted to grasping money-lenders, and the debt is estimated by rupees. To add to the value of the rupee is to add to the

debt—to benefit the well-to-do money-lenders and to crush the already indebted cultivators. (4) All the taxes paid in India, by the rich and the poor alike, are paid in rupees. To add to the value of the rupee is to add to the taxation of the country. (5) A large portion of the public debt of India is in rupees. To add to the value of the rupee is to add to the public debt of the Government—*i.e.*, of the Indian nation—and to give an "unearned increment" to those who hold the bonds in this country or in India.

I have never seen all these points fairly and strongly urged in official correspondence. The reason, I believe, is that the people of India are constitutionally allowed no control over the executive action of the Government, not even a constitutional channel to express their views for the consideration of the Government. The largest questions deeply affecting the well-being of the nation are disposed of by high officials and by close Councils—able, experienced, and conscientious, no doubt, but unable from the very nature of things to look at questions from the people's point of view. My countrymen recognise the difficulty which the Government feel in meeting their liabilities in England in gold, out of taxation derived in India in silver. The remedy they suggest is to gradually reduce the gold liabilities. We have railways in India which are quite sufficient both for military and for famine protective purposes, and no more lines should be laid down by the Government, or under guarantee of profits given by the Government under the pressure of capitalists in this country. The drain in the shape of allowances and pensions should be reduced by employing more largely the educated people of India in administrative work. And a steady and determined effort should be made during the next twenty or thirty years to reduce the public debt of India, as the public debt of the United Kingdom has been reduced during her Majesty's reign. But where is the statesman who will take this line? Where is the ruler who will check the forward frontier policy, oppose the pressure exerted in this country for the construction of more railways out of the Indian people's money, reduce the civil and military expenditure, employ more largely the cheaper native agency, and reduce year after year the public debt of India, thereby reducing her liabilities to this country? Where is the high financial administrator who will do for us what Mr. Gladstone has done for England? This is the true remedy for the currency difficulty. To continue the extravagant and increasing military and other expenditure in India, and to try to tide over the present difficulty by tampering with the currency, is mere quackery, and not adopting the true remedy.

Permit me to add one word. The Inspector-General of Police in Bengal has pointed out that false rupees are skilfully coined in many parts of India, and that detection is only possible because the false rupee is of baser metal. When the piece of metal, the value of which is 10½d., is artificially kept up to the value of 1s. 4d., there will be a sufficient margin of profit left to false coiners without using base metal, and I much fear the police of India will fail to check surreptitious coinage, especially in Native States.

THE KHYBER "SETTLEMENT."

The following letter from General Sir John Adye, dated October 24, appeared in the *Times* of November 2:—

The *Times* of October 21 contains an important statement on the Khyber Pass, by which it appears that the Government are about to abolish the system pursued successfully for many years of subsidising the Afridis for keeping the route open, and to establish in its place a local force under British officers, to be directly responsible to the Government of India for the due protection of the district. In short, the country through which the road leads is to be considered as our own and the independence of the Afridis is to cease. The reason given is that as they broke their agreement last year they must now abide the issue.

In order, however, to understand the present position, and the significance of the change, it will be as well to give a short review of our action in the days gone by.

That the Khyber is one of the main routes into Afghanistan is, of course, well known. We occupied it during our first great war 1839-41, and then when peace was made, relinquished possession. Again, in the war of 1878-80, it formed one of our main lines of communication; but at its termination we again withdrew, on the strong recommendation of Lord Lytton, the then Viceroy, and also of the military and political officers who had taken part in the campaign. In doing so we publicly acknowledged the freedom of the Afridis; and with a view of securing the safety of the pass for traffic and intercourse we agreed to pay them an annual subsidy, which agreement was faithfully observed by them until the autumn of last year. The fact that for nearly seventeen years they acted up to their engagements is a proof, at all events, that, whilst retaining their independence, they were disposed to be friendly neighbours.

It will be as well now to consider shortly the causes which led to their partial hostility in the autumn of 1897; and, fortunately, the circumstances are fully detailed in the Parliamentary Papers issued a few months ago (Parliamentary Papers, 1898, C. 8,713 and 8,714).

In the early days subsequent to our conquest of the Punjab in 1848, the policy of conciliation and subsidies was adopted in our dealings, not only with the ruler of Afghanistan, but also with the independent tribes who inhabit the mountains for hundreds of miles all along our North-West Frontier; and notwithstanding their predatory habits and somewhat turbulent character, we gradually gained their confidence, and punitive expeditions almost ceased. Of late years, however, our general policy has become more aggressive, and we have on several occasions invaded the territories of the tribes, and have established military posts within their dominions. In 1893 we made an agreement with the ruler of Kabul by which the line of frontier between Afghanistan and that of the intervening tribes was laid down, but in which arrangement the tribal chiefs were not consulted, and we subsequently attempted to enforce its conditions by military expeditions.

The Governor of the Punjab, in 1894, distinctly pointed out the impolicy and the danger of thus enforcing our authority over these independent races, and recommended subsidies as a better means of keeping open the communications and of maintaining peace. In 1894, also, three members of the Viceroy's Council earnestly remonstrated against the dangerous and costly results of constant military expeditions, and recorded their opinion that, if persisted in, we should set the whole frontier in a blaze.

The expedition to Chitral in 1895, though necessary at the time, was followed by a permanent garrison, although at the outset we had undertaken to withdraw our troops at the termination of the campaign; and we still maintain a fortified position at Chitral, an unnecessary isolated post, snowed up for some months of the year, and hundreds of miles from our dominions.

All these circumstances deserve careful consideration, and it is, I think, hardly a matter of surprise, not only that the Afridis should have been partially estranged, but that a general combination of the frontier tribes, for the first time in the history of the Punjab, should have been formed against us. Their outbreak last year has been attributed to fanaticism; but it seems evident that fears of conquest and of the loss of their cherished independence were the dominant features of the case.

I do not propose to discuss the operations of the great frontier war of 1897, which were conducted with great skill and courage by our officers and men, British and Native; but the great cost and the difficulties of the campaign and its comparatively barren results are in themselves proofs of the impolicy of conquering the poor, brave inhabitants who reside in the mountains all along our frontier, and who, by patient, peaceful means, can be converted into powerful allies, ready to combine with us should external dangers ever arise.

The issue is clear and important; and the people of this country must decide whether we are to maintain a policy of conciliation with our neighbours on the Indian North-West frontier, or whether we are to reduce them to subjection and to annex their territories to our Empire in the East.

Having studied the question in its various aspects for many years, I have arrived at conclusions which I know are shared by many officers of great military and political experience in India, and which are sufficiently indicated in the above remarks.

The *Broad Arrow* of October 29 contained a further letter from Colonel H. B. Hanna, which should be read in connexion with the article and the letter printed in INDIA last week:—

Sir,—In reply to your enquiry where I would fight the Russians—inside or outside of India?—I beg to say that I see no reason why we should fight them either on or beyond the Indus Valley frontier, because a careful study of the subject has convinced me that India cannot be invaded from the north or from the west by a great army equipped with all the modern appliances of war, and that any force, short of such an army, would certainly not be foolish enough to make the attempt. This being so, your remark that, if Russia cannot invade India, "then entrenched camps in the north-west or north, or anywhere else, and even frontier forces (to oppose such invasion), are obviously superfluous," is much to the point. I have all along consistently opposed the policy, which has been in vogue for the last twenty years, of multiplying fortifications and shutting up troops in them. (See Indian Problem II., "India's Scientific Frontier.") India's frontier of unsurpassed strength needs no artificial strengthening, and as for our warlike neighbours—the only foe with whom in my opinion we shall ever have to deal—a compact, well-equipped mobile division, which we already possess in the Punjab Frontier force, is more than sufficient to hold the lawless tribes in check. Nor was Sir Edward Hamley an advocate for indiscriminate fortifications; his contention was that to occupy the Khyber was a strategical blunder, as it was easy to block its exit by planting an entrenched camp at Jamrud, or other convenient spot near its *débouchement* into the Peshawar Valley. The Government, however, have decided otherwise, and will doubtless in due time reap as it has sown.

But the question is as I have already said, one of commis-

sariat, and as an ounce of experience is better than a ton of theory, let me recall to your recollection the almost insuperable difficulties which Lord Roberts encountered in collecting supplies for his comparatively small force at Kandahar in September, 1880, at a season of the year when, in Afghanistan, they are most abundant. Lord Roberts shall tell the story in his own words:—

Amongst the innumerable questions of detail which now confronted me was the all-important one, and that which caused me the greatest anxiety, of how the large body of troops hastily concentrated at Kandahar—and for which the produce of the country was quite inadequate—were to be fed. No supplies and very little forage were procurable between Quetta and Kandahar, and in the neighbourhood of the latter place there was now hardly anything in the shape of food for man or beast to be had for love or money, the resources of this part of the country having been quite exhausted.

Now, sir, in conclusion let me ask you if Lord Roberts was unable to feed his modest force of 15,000 men at Kandahar, is it to be supposed that Russia could possibly maintain an army of ten times the size either in that city or at Kabul, the inhabitants of which places are themselves too often in a state of semi-starvation? The *daily* requirements of a Russian army of 150,000 would be at least 950 tons, and is it probable that even the most hare-brained general would enter upon so risky an enterprise as an invasion of India, defended by the flower of the Anglo-Indian army, without first forming a three months' reserve of food-stuff? Skobeleff collected two-and a half months' for his expedition against the Turkomans; we, in the second Afghan war, a reserve of six months. A ninety days' reserve means 85,500 tons, to carry which it would require considerably over half-a-million camels; or, put it in another way, it represents the carrying capacity of thirty large cargo steamers! Even supposing that Russia succeeded in collecting this enormous transport train, how could she possibly feed all these animals in the sterile mountains and fruitless deserts which intervene between Afghanistan and British India?

Should not all the blood and treasure we have spent in our wars beyond the frontier have at least taught us this salutary lesson, that the deep belt of rugged mountains, peopled by a warlike race, which stretches from the northern to the southern extremity of the North-West frontier, is the best possible protection to British India, and that to break down this natural barrier and to disarm and destroy the independence of its inhabitants is foolish and short-sighted?

I am, etc.,

Ashcroft, Petersfield, October 26. H. B. HANNA, Colonel.

INDIA IN THE BRITISH PRESS.

Although the new law of sedition in India may be too absurd to be actually enforced—that is, to be anything more than a standing menace to the minor journalists and politicians—another instrument of intimidation has been invented which has already been employed on more than one occasion. I refer, of course, to the "Press Committees," about which too little has been heard in this country. The first mention of these precious organisations occurred in some of the Bombay journals last summer. It was then stated that a "Press Committee" had been established in Poona, that its purpose was to keep the local Press accurately informed and to see that it was discreetly conducted, and that a formal resolution upon the matter had been issued by the Government of Bombay. These statements appeared incredible enough. But the Indian Parliamentary Committee thought it well to bring to Lord George Hamilton's notice machinery which seemed to involve nothing less than a censorship of the Press in the Bombay Presidency. Needless to say, a censorship of the Press is just as illegal in India as it would be in this country. Lord George Hamilton's replies to questions on the subject were interesting and significant. On June 21, in reply to a question referring specially to the Poona Committee, Lord G. Hamilton assured the House of Commons that "under the existing law of India no committee which may have been appointed in Poona or elsewhere could have any power of censorship over the Press. Its functions would necessarily be limited to keeping the responsible officials informed as to the character of the matter published in the newspapers."

In reply to another question, on June 28, Lord G. Hamilton added that he was in communication with the Government of Bombay on the subject; and on July 26 he refused to produce the papers relating to the Poona Committee because his correspondence with the Government of Bombay was not completed. That was the point reached when Parliament rose for the recess. Meantime the Indian journals published the account given of the Poona Committee by Mr. Lamb, the District Magistrate of Poona. His statement made it clear that the majority of the members of the committee were officials, one of them being the city magistrate and another the city police inspector. "The duty of the committee," Mr. Lamb said, "is to bring to the notice of the district magistrate anything appearing in any newspaper published in the district which, in the opinion of the committee, is deserving of the attention of the district magistrate." This, it will be seen, was very much the same formula as that which Lord G. Hamilton had repeated in the House of Commons. The Press Committee was to inform the officials. On the other hand, it is worth noting that the accounts of these committees which were current in India mentioned also the duty of informing the Press. The committees were to keep the newspapers accurately informed as to official acts. They were to be "available for use, if the district magistrate thinks fit, as an intermediary between himself and the Press of his district."

The absurdity of supposing that committees of this kind, including among their members the magistrate and the police inspector, would exercise no censorship over the Press, but would merely discharge with superior efficiency the work hitherto done by the official reporter upon the Native Press, was sufficiently grotesque. The notion, if anybody seriously entertained it, was quickly dispelled by Mr. Lamb himself. As a member of the Poona Press Committee, he summoned before him a man named Kelkar, the editor of the Poona *Mahratta*. Mr. Kelkar, it seems, had published, on the authority of a Bombay journal, the statement that when the elder Natu was put in prison the police who had charge of him abused him. Mr. Kelkar was subjected to a long catechism by Mr. Lamb, who wanted to know how he knew that the statement was true; whether he had enquired of Sirdar Natu himself—who was in prison—and so forth. Mr. Kelkar described his position at this interview as that of a man "standing in the dock." Yet, as Lord G. Hamilton says, "Under the existing law of India no committee could have any censorship over the Press." Mr. Kelkar's case is by no means the only one in which these uncensorious committees have come into operation. In another case an Indian editor had called attention to the repeated shooting of Indians by British soldiers. He was sent for and asked whether he was aware that the Government was about to issue a resolution upon this subject. But perhaps the most interesting case is that of the *Jagadadarsha* of Ahmadnagar which Mr. W. A. Chambers described, with the aid of the complete documents, at Westminster Town Hall last Wednesday. Here the editor had called attention to the notorious difficulty which an Indian has in securing justice in India against a European. The district magistrate of Ahmadnagar, a Mr. Hudson, addressed to the editor a peremptory note stating that he was "warned that his article was conceived in bad taste, and that its tone is objectionable."

It will be obvious to the impartial English observer that committees of this kind, however plausible the formulas under which their object is concealed, exercise the odious and illegal powers of a censor of the Press. Lord G. Hamilton, as his answers in the House of Commons clearly show, has addressed a remonstrance to the Bombay Government on the subject. But I look in vain for any indication in the Indian journals that any of the committees have been abolished. The creation of these bodies seems so far to have been confined to the Bombay Presidency, where the disciples of Lord G. Hamilton (the author of the new law of sedition) have bettered their instruction. The mischief which such bodies can do in the large towns in India is no doubt restricted. But in the smaller places, where public opinion has either no existence or little authority, the terrorism which they are capable of producing is incalculable.—"N. T." in the *Morning Leader*.

PUBLIC MEETINGS ON INDIAN QUESTIONS.

THE WORK OF THE BRITISH COMMITTEE.

Next week Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji will address a series of meetings in and near Manchester.

The Women's Liberal Association at Shepton Mallet, Somersetshire, have arranged a meeting on Indian questions for November 14. Mr. W. A. Chambers and Mr. Romesh Dutt have accepted the invitation to be present and speak. The chair will be taken by Mr. Hanham, a former Liberal candidate for the division.

At the South Manchester Labour Church, on November 6, an address was given by a lecturer on behalf of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress on "The Ethics of England's Rule in India." There was a fair attendance, and many gentlemen asked questions and joined in the discussion. Mr. Corbett, President of the Manchester Theosophical Society, said he gladly endorsed all the views of the speaker, especially in saying that India wished for reform, not revolution.

Further meetings have been arranged as follows:—

November 10.—Blackpool.
,, 14.—Wigton.
,, 17.—Aspatria.
,, 18.—Keswick.
,, 28.—Paddington.

The meeting at Paddington on November 28 will be held in the Vestry Hall. The chair will be taken by Mr. Albert Spicer, M.P.

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